

The *Lady* and the *Indian*; Representing an Inter-ethnic Marriage in Dutch and Canadian News Media (1906-1928)

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Résumé de l'article

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***The Lady and the Indian:
Representing an Inter-ethnic Marriage in
Dutch and Canadian News Media
(1906–1928)***¹

Abstract

This essay examines how Dutch and Canadian news media represented ethnic difference through reports on the marriage of Johanna van Dommelen and Angus Montour and how the spouses influenced this news coverage (1906–1928). The analysis shows that the couple, in introducing new topics, changed the focus of reports. Articles about their marriage ended up promoting Indian activism and criticizing media representation and government policy regarding indigenous people. Johanna and Angus cleverly exploited stereotypical media representation of “Indians” to improve living conditions of the Mohawk. The mixed identity of their marriage, initially experienced as an offense to public taste, proved to be a powerful political instrument. It is a fascinating paradox that racial stereotypes in dominant media discourse provided possibilities for marginal people to express themselves publicly.

Résumé

Cet article porte sur la façon dont les médias d'information néerlandais et canadiens ont représenté les différences ethniques dans des reportages sur le mariage de Johanna van Dommelen et d'Angus Montour et la façon dont les conjoints ont influé sur cette couverture médiatique (1906–1928). L'analyse montre que le couple a modifié, en suscitant de nouveaux thèmes, l'accent mis dans les reportages. Les articles sur leur mariage ont fini par promouvoir l'activisme des Indiens et critiquer la représentation des Autochtones par les médias et la politique gouvernementale à leur égard. Johanna et Angus ont exploité astucieusement la représentation stéréotypée des « Indiens » par les médias afin d'améliorer les conditions de vie des Mohawks. L'identité mixte de leur mariage, considérée au départ comme une offense au goût du public, s'est révélée être un puissant instrument politique. Le paradoxe fascinant, c'est que les stéréotypes raciaux dans le discours dominant des médias ont offert la possibilité à des personnes marginales de s'exprimer publiquement.

In the winter of 1906, the Dutch illustrated magazine *Wereldkroniek* (World Chronicle) published a remarkable article about the marriage of a lady from The Hague to a Canadian Indian man.² The article reported on the union of Johanna Elisabeth van Dommelen with Angus Montour, also called American Horse, who had recently met at an Indian show.³ Angus was visiting The Hague with a troupe of Indian entertainers touring Europe, when he and Johanna fell in love and got engaged shortly after. Their marriage was announced in all the cities where the "redskins" were scheduled to perform. Although the wedding was to be performed in public, it was not, because, according to the magazine article, Dutch legislation did not allow it. The article reports that the wedding took place in London and that the newlyweds were to travel to Canada to settle in the Mohawk village of Kahnawake near Montreal, where Angus had a farm.

The article is an exceptional one for several reasons. In the early 1900s, marriages between a Dutch woman and an Indian man were highly improbable, because of the geographical distance between the spouses' countries of origin, and especially because such marriages transgressed the strict social conventions of the day regarding ethnicity, class, and gender. In view of this violation of prevailing morals, which the magazine's bourgeois readership must have considered an outrage, it should not come as a surprise that the article's tone was ironic. At the same time, the piece revealed a fascination for the exotic husband and his unusual choice of a wife. The cultural differences between these two people were accentuated in a photograph of Angus Montour wearing traditional clothing and sporting a tomahawk, with an inset photograph of Johanna van Dommelen, a formal studio portrait of her dressed after the latest fashion. The commentary's equivocal melding of rejection and fascination raises questions about the way in which this marriage was represented in the news media of the day and how these representations related to ideas of ethnicity in Dutch society. When the newlyweds arrived in Quebec, the Canadian newspapers proved to be as intrigued by the marriage as the Dutch ones had been. Until Angus Montour's dying day in 1928, the Dutch and Canadian newspapers were to report on the couple repeatedly. At first glance, it seems that the Canadian newspapers demonstrated a greater appreciation for the ethnic difference between the "*lady* and the *Indian*." This impression then raises the issue of the specific national character of the representations of this interethnic marriage. What exactly were the differences between the articles and pictures in the Dutch media and those in the Canadian media, and how can these differences be explained?

Besides the nature of the reports on the mixed marriage, another interesting question is how both partners responded to these reports. I share the

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GETROUWD MET EEN ROODHUID.

Toen onlangs hier te lande een troep Roodhuiden in de circussen en specialiteitengezelschappen hun kunsten vertoonden, werd er al herhaaldelijk gemompeld, dat een der hunnen, een der hoofdmannen „American Horse” geheten, nog wel, zou trouwen met een Haagsche dame, een weduwe.

Het huwelijk zou plaats hebben in het publiek, aldus heette het; in alle plaatsen waar de Roodhuiden optraden werd het aangekondigd, maar er kwam niets van.

Maar nu, in Engeland is het toch gebeurd. Johanna Elizabeth van Dommelen is de vrouw geworden van Angus Montour, alias „American Horse.”

De *Daily Express* geeft van de plechtigheid een uitvoerige beschrijving. Het blad vermeldt zelfs hoe mevrouw Van Dommelen, in Den Haag de Roodhuiden „show” beziekend, aanstonds verliefd werd op „American Horse”, die op zijn beurt die liefde onmiddellijk beantwoordde en hoe ze daarna met elkaar spraken en corresponderden met behulp van een tolk, een jongen Hollander, aan den troep als



Het opperhoofd „American Horse” en mevrouw Van Dommelen.

assistent van den manager verbonden, omdat American Horse alleen Engelsch verstond en lezen noch schrijven kon en mevrouw Van Dommelen alleen Hollandsch en Fransch.

Dat het huwelijk niet in Holland plaats heeft gehad is te wijten aan het heen en weer trekken van den troep, waardoor deze te kort op dezelfde plaats bleef en niet voldaan kon worden aan de Nederlandsche wettens.

Maar ook in Engeland ging het nog niet zoo voor den wind en het slot van de geschiedenis was, dat de geheele troep Iroquois, Obiways en Sioux Indianes die reeds plaatsen op de boot hadden besproken, naar Canada vertrok op den dag dat „American Horse” met mevrouw Johanna Elizabeth van Dommelen in het huwelijk trad.

Met een volgende boot ondernam daarop het jonggetrouwde paar de reis naar New-York om vandaar te vertrekken naar het Indianendorp Caughnawaga waar het opperhoofd een hovee heeft.

American Horse is 33 jaar oud, zijn vrouw 34.

Announcement of the marriage of Johanna van Dommelen and Angus Montour. World Chronicle 12(1906)48, 756.

view of other authors who say that, in defining their ethnic identity, people actively engage with prevailing ideas about class, culture, gender, and nationality.⁴ In this process, news media play an important role in constructing these values while offering people a platform to resist them. In media studies, marginal groups are often regarded as passive objects.⁵ Were Johanna van Dommelen and Angus Montour indeed passive, perhaps involuntary victims of sensation-seeking journalists? Or were they perhaps adroit at manipulating press attention to their own advantage?

In this article, I will explore how Dutch and Canadian news media represented ethnic difference in their reports on this mixed marriage and whether Angus and Johanna managed to tailor these representations. In doing so, I will treat texts and images as both reflections and constructions of views of inter-ethnic marriages. Ethnicity is understood as the aggregate of expressions used by groups and individuals to express their identity.⁶ My sources consisted of about a dozen illustrated articles, which, just like the marriage itself, were unique for the Netherlands and Canada of this period. My analysis will deal with the form and content of the illustrations, words, and stories that served to classify the spouses in accordance with a specific rank order of class, gender, and ethnicity. The method of analysis is one used by Maaike Meier and Stuart Hall, and one that I have used previously.⁷ In order to be able to understand the socio-political and cultural context, I will compare the reports under review with conventional news reports and artistic expressions on Indian people

from the same period. I will demonstrate the active involvement of individuals by comparing the articles on the mixed couple with regular coverage of white women, and Indian men and women, and with biographical information from archives and family interviews. Discrepancies in the information derived from news reports and from secondary sources will give us some clues on the influence exercised by those involved in the story on the news reports themselves, taking into account that these data are themselves prejudiced by contemporary notions of social differences.

Media, *White Ladies*, and Indians

In order to interpret the reports on the marriage of Johanna van Dommelen and Angus Montour and to understand the way in which ethnic difference was understood in the Netherlands and Canada, we need to know more about the contemporary media representations of "white" ladies and "red Indians" at the time. The articles on the couple, therefore, need to be considered in relation to contextual expressions of high and low culture, such as novels, paintings, photos, and exhibitions.

In the nineteenth century, popular culture got a boost from the invention of new reproduction techniques that made it cheaper to illustrate books and news media.⁸ The text and illustrations in Canadian and American novels, newspapers, and magazines stereotyped native people as barbarians. The "captivity narratives" genre, stories about women abducted and held in captivity by Indian men, reflected the settlers' fear of native peoples.⁹ Media and myths constructed the ideas that white women were weak and vulnerable, that "Indians" were savage and brutal, and that meetings between them caused the downfall of women. This dominant scenario supported the ideology behind government policies implemented on the American continent, which decreed that native men and women were to be killed or herded together in reserves and forced to renounce their culture. The popular culture did not only reflect ideas on "Indians," but it was also instrumental in constructing views that shaped people's ties with the new nations of Canada and the USA.

On the North American continent, the media presented white women as playing an essential role in maintaining the moral, religious, and economic health of the country.¹⁰ In Canada and the USA, like in the English, French and Dutch colonies, sexuality and marriage were regulated by government policy. The prestige of white men demanded that women be segregated from public life and protected from the "primitive" sexuality of native men.¹¹ Government policy determined gender relations, sexual mores and conceptions of "race". It spelled out who was "white" or "native" and what was considered proper behaviour between

men and women. The wives of Canadian pioneers and of Dutch colonists were expected to behave morally in their dealings with native people. Contravening the prescribed codes of behaviour, meant damaging their reputation and that of their family, as well as risking social exclusion.¹²

Because there were no inter-ethnic marriages in the Netherlands of the early 1900s, the term “mixed marriage” referred solely to the union of spouses from different classes or religious backgrounds.¹³ In its colonies, however, the cohabitation and marriage of Dutch men with native women was widely accepted.¹⁴ Dutch women were expected to marry within their own “racial” group; cohabitation with a native man was entirely out of the question.¹⁵ When a Dutch woman did marry a native man, there was great concern for her moral degradation. Laws passed in 1882 and later in 1898, were designed to discourage such marriages.¹⁶ According to these laws, a Dutch woman who married a native man gave up her nationality and was classified as a native, as would be her children. The idea of a Dutch woman marrying a man outside her own ethnic group, whether at home or overseas, was viewed as most unacceptable.¹⁷

By contrast, in nineteenth-century Canada and America, inter-ethnic marriages were common. White men were permitted to marry Indian women, even if the practice was not encouraged. Relationships between white men and Indian women were hardly ever legitimized, whereas those between white women and native men were.¹⁸ While marriages between white men and native women received a great deal of press coverage in Canada and the United States, those between white women and native men were ignored, a media hush-up that Glenda Riley has explained by the lack of recognition of such unions.¹⁹

Appreciation of white women on the North American continent was rooted in prejudices about indigenous women. The dominant representations of white and Indian femininity served to instruct women about their rightful place.²⁰ News reports, illustrated magazines and novels, paintings, and other depictions taught European women that they were superior although physically weak and subordinate to men. Encouraged to see themselves as custodians of civilization, they tended to look upon native people as uncivilized and immoral.²¹

Indian women were typecast as “squaws”: inferior and exploited women who were to do all the work while their men had a great time hunting, fishing, and playing war. This putative servitude of Indian women was created by a Eurocentric worldview that was oblivious and dismissive of gendered and political structures of indigenous life. This caused the activities of Indian men to be regarded as sport and as aristocratic leisure pursuits.

At the same time, there was a white fascination with the occurrence of polygamy within some Indian groups and the sexual relations and marriages between white men and Indian women.²² The alliances of white women and Indian men were considered threatening while, those of white men and Indian women were not. Relations between white men and Indian women could be illegal and still be glorified. However, white women married to Indian men were described in the media as "female captives", dehumanized by their association with "Indians", and ashamed to face white society because of their debasement. Novels, dime novels, and paintings of the day confirmed prejudices against Indian people. Famous works, such as the painting by Alfred Jacob Miller depicting the "sale" of an Indian girl to a white trapper or the novel *The Last of the Mohicans* by James Fennimore Cooper on the fatal love between an Indian man and a white woman, established the criteria for differences in "race" and gender between Indian men and white women.²³

In addition to the media-spawned image of the "barbarian Indian," there was the other image of the "good Indian," who was courteous, kind, and courageous. He was partly the brainchild of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century authors who regarded the native peoples of the American continent as "noble savages", a counter-example for corrupted "civilized" society. European Romantics like Jean-Jacques Rousseau and François-René de Chateaubriand strengthened the stereotype of indigenous people as innately moral beings, living in harmony with nature.²⁴ This image of the noble Indian was also to be found in the visual arts. Painter Carl Bodmer, who took part in the 1833 expedition by German explorer Prince Maximilian, painter and exhibition manager George Catlin, and photographer Edward Curtis continued to amplify this idea of Indian people as children of nature. The female counterpart of the "good Indian" was portrayed as an Indian princess who, in contrast to the "squaw," was beautiful and, like Pocahontas, was always prepared to help white settlers.

By the end of the nineteenth century in Canada and the USA, military actions against "Indians" were mainly completed. Most native people had been deported to reserves and had lost their autonomy.²⁵ Indian people were required to integrate into the dominant society by becoming farmers, although in Canada some plains tribes were allowed to become rangers. In both countries, education was used to wean indigenous children away from their families in order to erase their cultural identity. Churches and missionaries played a major role in this process. In this period, a new literary genre arose: the civilization novel, telling stories about native people who were struggling to adjust to life in an industrial society. In contrast to the stories about Indian people as barbarians or noble savages, these stories never gained much popularity in Europe.

Colonial activities, travel accounts, and missionary reports were the usual subjects of news media accounts, novels, exhibitions, and films and set the benchmarks for understanding national and foreign cultures. In the Netherlands, novels by Gustave Aimard, Fennimore Cooper, and Karl May, though steeped in American popular culture, were very successful. When “Indian shows,” like Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show, toured Europe in the last decades of the nineteenth century, audiences were presented with images and ideas about the lives of pioneers and “Indians”, ideas with which they had already grown accustomed. For Europeans, who, unlike Canadians and Americans, were unfamiliar with the mundane realities of the lives of pioneers and Indian women and men, it was easier to entertain romantic notions about them. In the Netherlands, as a result, Indian people were chiefly associated with fictional characters. An exhibition about these people in this country was received as a fantasy come true. And when an “Indian Village” toured the Netherlands in 1905, audiences were looking forward to meeting “genuine Indians” and having a first-hand opportunity to compare them to figures of popular fantasy.

Angus and Johanna

Angus Montour was born on 25 November 1851 in the Mohawk reserve of Caughnawaga, the present-day Kahnawake, south of Montreal in Canada. He was christened Angus, but his Mohawk name was Twanietanekan, meaning Two Snow Hills. Four descriptors of Angus keep cropping up in historical documents as well as in oral accounts of the family’s history. Firstly, he was easily recognizable because of unusual height, earning him the name Inniaskowa, meaning Great Angus. He is remembered by a grandson as a “strong, quiet, gentle giant.”²⁶ A second important fact that often comes up is that he was the chief of the Kahnawake Mohawk. Thirdly, he was well known for being an Indian rights activist. Finally, Angus Montour is remembered for his marriage to the mysterious Johanna van Dommelen.

Angus Montour was the son of Michael Awenrathon and Louise Aonwentsiio.²⁷ With his first wife, Charlotte “Sara” Beauvais, who was also a Mohawk, he had four sons, Usuleo, William, Michael, and Louis, and a daughter, Margaret. Sara died in 1902, when the youngest children were still pre-teenagers.²⁸ When he met Johanna in the fall of 1905, Angus was fifty-four years old and a widower.

In addition to farming, Angus Montour worked as a carpenter and as an occasional artist. Work in the entertainment field was not uncommon among the Kahnawake Mohawk. Johnny Beauvais, a local historian, has suggested that Angus Montour took part in several European tours.

During one of these tours Angus, his first wife, and several of his children might have been present at the coronation festivities for Edward VII in London, but documentation supporting this assumption is lacking.²⁹

Besides performing as a dancer, Angus Montour may have been in charge of the company during the tour of 1905. The Kahnawake Cultural Center has copies of the tour's publicity photos, showing Indian performers posing before a painted backdrop. Although it is unclear what business arrangements existed between the Indian artists and manager Frederick Burton, an exquisitely crafted thank-you medal, given to Angus Montour by Burton's assistant, L.C. Ingram, shows that their collaboration had been satisfactory.³⁰ Moreover, since Burton was a witness at Angus's wedding, it could be assumed that theirs was something more than a business relationship; they may well have been friends.³¹

Johanna Elisabeth van Dommelen was born in Rotterdam on 2 August 1864, the daughter of Carolus Christiaan van Dommelen and Jacoba Cornelia Lus. Johanna's father was a sergeant and a battle writer in the artillery before he changed careers to become an actor. He boasted that he was of noble birth, a claim Johanna would reiterate to her grandchildren.³² He appears to have been a successful actor, just like his children Frits, Jan, and Caroline, who made a name for themselves in the budding Dutch film industry. Johanna was the exception. She would later say that she regretted not having had a career on the stage.³³

Johanna's childhood was not an easy one. Family stories refer to her father as a strict disciplinarian. Johanna was 13 when her mother died and it is likely that she was expected, as the oldest daughter, to look after the younger children until her father's second marriage.³⁴ The van Dommelens lived in second-rate apartments in Amsterdam, suggesting that they may not have been well-to-do. For her part, Johanna was earning a living as a salesclerk at an early age.³⁵ Several members of the family have said that at one time, the family belonged to the upper middle-class, but there is no hard evidence to support this.³⁶ We may assume that the van Dommelen children received a decent education. Johanna's knowledge of English, French, history, and opera, suggested to her grandchildren that she was an educated woman.³⁷

Becoming an unmarried mother at the age of twenty-six was a major event in Johanna's life.³⁸, one that would greatly impact her life. Her son François was born in Amsterdam on 12 June 1890.³⁹ Johanna was registered on the birth certificate as being without a profession and living in a home for unmarried mothers.⁴⁰ The father was not named on the certificate.



Angus Montour as a model for the Buffalo Advertising Club, Buffalo N.Y., date unknown. Private Collection Frank van Dommelen

After François' birth, Johanna's life revolved around her son's needs. At that time in the Netherlands, being an unmarried mother was very difficult. Although it was common practice to put an illegitimate child up for adoption, Johanna had the courage to keep François and to raise him for the first sixteen months at the shelter.⁴¹ Over the next twelve years, François lived with a succession of foster families around Amsterdam and in North Brabant, while Johanna lived in the vicinity and held a string of jobs.⁴²

Since François received English lessons, one might conclude that his education likely included high school. Although it is not clear what assistance

Johanna received from others, her youngest sister was a reliable friend. Caroline, ten years her junior, was a successful actress, film director, author, and journalist.⁴³ Having married well, she was in a position in 1902 to look after both Johanna's son and the son of her brother Frits. Caroline's assistance meant a great deal to Johanna. It was in Caroline's home that Johanna and François found shelter when they visited Rotterdam in 1905, and it was Caroline who was present as a witness at Johanna's wedding in London.⁴⁴ She was also the only one of the van Dommelen family to visit Johanna in Canada on several occasions.⁴⁵

Primitive Passion and Romantic Love

Some weeks before the marriage between Angus Montour and Johanna van Dommelen was even mentioned in the media, notices in newspapers and illustrated magazines had promoted the wild nature of the show's Indian performers.⁴⁶ These presented American Horse as an Iroquois chief involved in the "redskin uprising against the American government." He was said to have been elected chief after his conquest of a fortified fortress where he killed the entire garrison. According to the publicity, he earned his name "American Horse" when he intercepted and scalped an enemy courier while on a dangerous trip across inaccessible mountain ranges.⁴⁷ The notices also featured other chiefs who were also credited with similar heroic feats. White Cloud, presented as a Sioux chief and the "best Indian archer", was renowned for his bravery. Chief Deep Sky was featured as an Iroquois who "counts his scalps by the dozens."⁴⁸ Regardless of their background, whether Apache, Iroquois or Sioux, Indian men were depicted as war-minded and bloodthirsty in all the news reports. An apparent assumption in these reports and in the publicity was that people knew the history of the West. For example, there is a reference to the defeat of the celebrated Sioux chief Sitting Bull with whom White Cloud was allegedly taken prisoner in Canada.

Despite the claims that were made in the show's ads, we may safely assume that the names, careers, and reputations of the above-mentioned Indians were fabricated for publicity purposes. In the same way as his son William was referred to as "the famous Sioux chief White Cloud," in all likelihood, Angus Montour was given the name American Horse to add to the exotic flavour of the company.⁴⁹ The fact that, only a few years before, the famous Sioux chiefs Sitting Bull, American Horse, and Red Cloud had taken part in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show supports this assumption. Claiming that one or several famous chiefs were to be featured in the show had been a good promotional strategy. If referring to Angus Montour as "American Horse" was meant to be temporary, the practice continued when the show was over. When the Montours arrived in Canada, the Iowa newspaper *Perry Daily Chief* announced

the marriage of “the noted Indian Chief” American Horse, mistaking Angus Montour for the well-known Sioux chief.⁵⁰ Whatever may have been the name’s origin, Angus Montour was henceforth referred to as American Horse.

When Johanna made her first media appearance in the Dutch *Wereldkroniek* in 1906, she tailored her life story to meet the decency requirements of society. It went without saying that she could not refer to herself as an unmarried mother. This would have caused a scandal harming Johanna, her then fifteen-year-old son, and her relatives, which included actors who were themselves in the limelight. She had no choice but to present her marriage with Angus Montour in the best possible light, and the most strategic choice was to present it as a romantic love story. Consequently, the extramarital son was deleted from Johanna’s past, rewritten as that of “a widow.” The readers were introduced to a woman who, having suffered, had now found happiness, albeit with an exotic stranger. A provocative act had been recast by Johanna as a venturesome undertaking. The news coverage of this “Dutch lady” became every bit as exciting as that of her Indian husband: a true tale that had all the trappings of fiction.

Nevertheless, the article in the *Wereldkroniek* reporting the marriage of Angus and Johanna does contain several pejorative references typically used when reporting in those days on “exotic” people. Angus was introduced as a “redskin” and Johanna as a “lady from The Hague.” Presented thus, the couple represented two opposite and irreconcilable worlds: the one wild, the other civilized. The article reported that, when Johanna fell in love with Angus, he “immediately reciprocated” her feelings, thus portraying the emotional state of the white woman as an opportunity to be taken advantage of by the Indian man. Proof of the primitive passion of this love affair could be found in the couple’s rapid engagement. In their inability to communicate with one another without an interpreter, or, even more to the point, in the husband’s inability to read or write. The readers of the *Wereldkroniek* were left to conclude that this marriage was highly irresponsible and that, even though the husband possessed a farm and seemed to be able to look after Johanna, it would all end in tears.⁵¹

The media representation of Johanna as an impetuous woman was in line with the presentation of women marrying colored men in Dutch legal discourse.⁵² According to Dutch law, Johanna’s marriage to Angus meant that she forfeited her rights as a Dutch national. In becoming the wife of a native man, she lost her white status and became a native herself. To prevent further “racial degeneracy”, any children from the union would also be classified as “native”. At that time, the Dutch legislation in these matters and the Canadian Indian Act were similar.

For Johanna, however, in addition to finding love, there were some obvious advantages connected to her marriage. In the Netherlands, as an unwed mother, she had lived a difficult life, constantly risking exposure. Her marriage to Angus was an opportunity to escape a disreputable position, to acquire a steady life, and to be able to live together with her son. Even though, by European standards, her marriage to a native man would diminish her status as a white woman, and even though the truth about her past would become known, Johanna hoped to gain some respect as the wife of a chief.

For Angus, his union with Johanna, a white European woman, who was said to be of noble blood, contributed to his status in the Canadian and the Mohawk communities, as was acknowledged in the news media. It is interesting to note that, for years, Canadian integration policy included regulations on intermarriage.⁵³ The journalists who applauded Angus and Johanna's marriage might have referred to their union as an example of successful integration. The Mohawk for their part, continued to admit "whites" and people of "mixed-blood" to their band as they had done before.

A few months after the married couple set foot ashore in the United States, their marriage was announced in the American *Perry Daily*. Illustrated with a rough woodcut copied from the picture in the *Wereldkroniek*, the announcements were quite similar.⁵⁴ Yet, the wording in the American article was more positive. Where the Dutch title, "Married with a redskin," had singled out ethnic incompatibility, the American title, "Noted Indian chief Weds. American Horse Marries Pretty Widow in Europe," emphasized the romantic character of the event. The choice of words in the *Perry Daily* gave the reader free rein to sympathize with the protagonists. Regarding the engagement, the article stated that American Horse "took possession of Elisabeth's heart," suggesting that he had taken the initiative. Johanna was introduced as the "pretty widow ... with much good coin of the realm of Wilhelmina," implying that Angus was a conqueror who had hauled in the loot.⁵⁵ One might also interpret these quotations as the expression of pride on the part of the settler community that an Indian man, who in Europe, after all, was a representative of the New World, had succeeded in winning the heart of a well-to-do lady of rank from the Old World.⁵⁶

Mixed Messages

For all the media coverage early in the marriage of Johanna and Angus, it was almost a decade before a daily newspaper would rekindle an interest in the couple. In an article in the Dutch daily *NRC* from 1915,

the initial surprise at the bride's choice of a mate was replaced by an interest in her married life.⁵⁷ By this time, Johanna and Angus had also rethought their priorities with respect to media coverage of their marriage. Not only did they speak purposely on topics that they considered to be important to them, they also exhibited an explicit awareness of the power of the press.

First of all, they seized the opportunity to take the edge off people's original apprehensions about their marriage and life in Kahnawake, saying they were still "very, very happy" together. Then Johanna proceeded to criticize white prejudice and ignorance about Indian people and to praise the qualities of her husband and of the Indian culture. Angus advocated Indian rights and criticized white government policies regarding his people.⁵⁸ The couple denounced at length a recent insult and denied having in their possession a Mohawk document guaranteeing them land rights. Angus stated that he had borrowed the document which he was accused of stealing, an accusation that "made him tremble with indignation", and that resulted in his imprisonment until his innocence was established. The interview, which had started out as a trivial account of the life of a mixed middle-aged couple, was transformed into an emotional protest about the injustices done to the Mohawk people.

It is revealing that during the course of the interview, Johanna, looking back on her early relationship with Angus, described herself as the victim of the Indian stereotypes in the news media. She frankly admitted that, when she first arrived in the reserve, the situation had not met her fanciful expectations and that she soon realized she had been naive. In the Netherlands, she had imagined that "Indians," in their day-to-day lives, dressed as beautifully as in their show rather than like most Canadians. Angus Montour and his people only dressed up on special occasions in order to honour ancient Indian customs. As for her chief, "whom she had imagined to be living the life of a king, [he] had to work hard to earn a modest living."⁵⁹

While Johanna was the pivotal figure in the 1915 article in the *NRC*, it was Angus who had the important role seven years later, in a *Star* news item (1922). In this article, Angus Montour was presented as one of the three Kahnawake chiefs who, at a "gigantic powwow" in Oswego, Ontario, protested against the Indian Act.⁶⁰ The article's closing sentence is significant: "[T]he Grand Chief's son and Chief American Horse visited the *Star* office yesterday and gave out the Grand Chief's edict for publication."⁶¹ This information reveals that Angus was not only aware of the importance of news coverage in swaying public opinion but also that he took an active part in providing a press release to the media.

The "disgusting law called the Indian Act" was very offensive to "thousands" of Iroquois because it resulted in "the enfranchising of the more educated of the Indians, and their separation due to this honor, from the others on the Indian Reservation."⁶² Designed to absorb indigenous people into Canadian society as early as possible, the Indian Act of 1876 was implemented by a federal machine that targeted tribal and band governments, and in 1884, outlawed spiritual dancing.⁶³ The Indian Act regulations of 1921 were intended to further break up reserves by assigning land to individuals, by operating schools, and by forcing enfranchisement. To resist these policies, the native people resorted to traditional religious rites as an alternative form of education. In the implementation of this strategy, Angus Montour acted as spiritual leader.

One year later, on the occasion of Johanna's admission into her husband's tribe, a *Star* reporter asked her to recall for the readers how her marriage had come about.⁶⁴ Johanna, now 58, was presented as a sweet lady who entertained her guests at home, served tea, and looked back on her life:

Mrs. American Horse...denied any secret regret of her unusual marriage. Love had not flown out of the window she declared; rather had it deepened and, with advancing years, grown into a beautiful thing by virtue of which the difference in color and tongue of her husband, ceased to be a barrier between them.⁶⁵

It is worthy of note that after eighteen years of marriage, Johanna was still being asked to justify her choice of a partner. In the article, entitled "Daughter of a Long Line of Dutch Nobles gave all to marry Indian Chief," she repeated the early version of her marriage as a romantic adventure, describing herself as the widow of a Dutch sailor, drowned at sea, a blue-blooded lady who had given everything up for her Indian lover. Johanna told the readers that her sister had been dead set against her wedding plans, which only served to enhance the dramatic quality of the romance. In this interview, Johanna appeared to be enjoying her role as heroine: "They said I risked losing my scalp when I married Ignace," adding mischievously, "I told them I was content to have it so if the scalping was done by my Chief."⁶⁶

While ridiculing the ignorance of the Dutch about Indian people, she did reveal that she and her husband had suffered from the media coverage. Her upcoming marriage had been fodder for press gossip. People had warned her that she would end up ostracized in a foreign land.⁶⁷ In this 1923 *Star* story, Angus and Johanna came across as classic lovers, like Romeo and Juliet, the important difference being that these modern protagonists were granted a happy ending.

The *Star* interview reflected a Canadian perspective by featuring Johanna as an exotic alien. The description of her foreign extraction in terms of nationality and class – the latter considered a European concept – along with the *Star*'s angle that she had renounced "the customs of an ancient race on the altar of love", implies more than mere lyricism.⁶⁸ The metaphor of a sacrifice on an altar may be taken as a sub-text portraying Johanna and her heritage as belonging to a foreign and primitive culture in the eyes of Canadian readers.

In this interview to the Canadian *Star*, Johanna confessed, as she had done earlier in the Dutch *NRC*, that she had expected to see "ferocious looking creatures put under close guard" when she and her son visited the Indian show in 1905. Again, Johanna proved to be aware of the link between media presentations and prejudice when she pointed out that Dutch newspapers and books were steeped in "bloodcurdling accounts of the terrible Red Indians."⁶⁹ Hence, according to Johanna, it should come as no surprise that Dutch audiences were unable to rate Indian culture at its true value and, consequently approached the Indian performers as if they were "dangerous beasts." Defiantly, Johanna stated that she and her son had met handsome, civilized people "who showed them native cleverness in the work they exhibited and who were apparently as civilized as those who came to see them."⁷⁰

By emphasizing women's handiworks, the wickerwork, and even the famous war dances, Johanna attempted to convince the readers of the merits of the Indian culture. She chose to ignore the scalping and torturing demonstrations that had also been a feature of the "Indian village." This is how she found an elegant way of constructing a socially acceptable picture of the show and of her husband's contribution to it. Concerning her own reputation, Johanna showed that she was aware of the royal lineage the media had credited her with but apparently felt no need to correct this information. Moreover, it is not inconceivable that she would have encouraged the myth as it helped conceal her earlier status as an unmarried mother.

In her new home country, however, Johanna's secret continued to be a burden.⁷¹ Though she mentioned François in the *Star* interview of 1923, she felt the ongoing need to suppress the circumstances of his birth. During the 1923 interview, Johanna stated that François had played a prominent role in her meeting Angus because, as a child, he had been fond of stories about cowboys and Indians and had actually talked her into visiting the Indian show.⁷² She claimed that the boy had made the first move by offering the entertainers cigarettes. When his attempts to communicate in English were unsuccessful, Johanna tried French. Eventually, Deep Sky acted as an interpreter in a conversation between Angus and Johanna using French and Iroquois. This was the beginning of

their friendship. The marriage which became a recurring subject in the media thus had its origins in a teenage boy's interest in popular stories about "Indians."

Two Chiefs

Two years later, in 1925, two interviews appeared in the *NRC*: *A visit to the Redskin Chiefs Cawghnawaga* [sic.] and *The American Horse and his Dutch wife*. In both interviews, Johanna was again invited to talk about her marriage.⁷³ Since the *NRC*'s distribution area included Rotterdam, where Johanna was born, and the surrounding region, for many readers the tale was all the more exciting as it allowed them to identify with a former townswoman, a common Dutch woman who had married an exotic man.

These two *NRC* interviews differed from other reports of Indian people in Dutch newspapers in that they devoted a lot of space to the viewpoints of two "Redskin Chiefs." In the twenties, Dutch newspapers and magazines presented Indian themes either as anthropological travel accounts or as sensational stories about violence and primitivism. Though both genres tended to be condescending, points of view varied according to the newspaper's denominational background. The Catholic newspaper *Het Centrum* (The Center), for example, published a review of a book on a seventeenth-century Jesuit priest who had been tortured by "barbaric and cruel Iroquois," whereas a review of the same book in the liberal *NRC* was remarkably tolerant.⁷⁴ Although the writer of the first article resorted to stereotypical jokes about scalps and peace pipes in introducing his story of his meeting with the Indian chief, Johanna and Angus were allowed to tell their story.

During a meeting with a small delegation of Dutch correspondents arranged through her contacts with the Dutch consulate, Johanna talked freely about her first few years in Canada. She described life on her husband's farm with her son and her husband's two youngest children as a difficult time. Johanna, the city girl, had suffered from hardship and isolation. Her recollections of her experiences and disappointments resembled those of settler women who managed to find happiness in a strange country only after great perseverance. In 1917, after the young ones had left the nest, Johanna and Angus settled in Kahnawake.⁷⁵

Since the reporter quoted Johanna extensively, she had the opportunity to tell her story. Although the article mainly consisted of Johanna's account, her influence on the realization of the article was limited. For instance, she was unable to prevent the journalist from mistaking her premarital status as Mrs. Montom [sic] instead of van Dommelen.⁷⁶ In addition, despite the free

reign they were given to broach a wide variety of themes, Johanna and Angus were given an introduction that was full of stereotyped descriptions. Johanna was described as a small, fragile, gray-haired lady, even though she was derogatorily referred to as a “squah [sic].”⁷⁷ Angus was described as being a “proud, elegant, and passionate beauty,” a “good Indian” with a “naive tenderness that suited his primitive and naturally passionate being.”⁷⁸ Although he was also given the opportunity to expound his views, he was not presented with the same scope and precision as his wife. Whereas Johanna’s words appear to have been rendered verbatim, Angus’s comments were paraphrased and abridged. So, even though the article adopts a sympathetic approach, with the journalist being moved by “the fragile lady’s loving tenderness for her husband,” the difference in attention devoted to the “white” lady and to the “red” chief is unmistakable.

Like she had done ten years earlier, Johanna declared in 1925 that she had found it astounding that the Dutch had imagined her life on the reserve as highly bizarre and thought of Indian people as savages. Over and over again she found it necessary to reassure her former compatriots that the Mohawk did not pose a threat and that in fact, most of them lived the life of the Canadian farmer, albeit one fraught with injustice, treachery, and poverty.⁷⁹ Although Johanna did not explicitly mention the far-reaching government measures designed to assimilate the Indian community, including mandatory boarding school attendance, and banning the use of their mother tongue and the performance of traditional rituals, she once again staunchly supported the Indian cause. She praised the Mohawk as kind, very good and competent people, and as the builders of the celebrated railway bridge over the nearby St. Lawrence River.⁸⁰ She accused the government of ill-treating indigenous people, especially the Mohawk who, for instance, had been promised an annual compensation for seized lands and had not received anything after fourteen years. Her husband also stood up for his people’s rights.

Reminiscing about the 1905 Indian show, Johanna presented American Horse as the tour’s autonomous leader, avoiding to mention the presence of manager Frederick Burton. She portrayed Angus Montour as a proud man, a quality she maintained had been enhanced by his European experience and by his friendships across all social classes. His performances as a dancing artist had made him “completely civilized.” Johanna even ventured to say that he was accustomed to speaking English to his children, a doubtful claim.⁸¹ By pointing out her husband’s attainments, Johanna constructed a media image of Angus Montour in keeping with the ethnic dichotomy in the public debate. It is ironic that despite her aversion to prejudiced media representation, she herself succumbed to it. She was unable to praise her husband without referring to media stereotypes of “Indians” and Indian culture.

The assumption that Johanna was quite aware of the significance of media representation is further supported by the absence of a mention of her husband's political activism. It may have been her fear of conjuring up the caricature of the rebellious and war-minded "Indian" that guided her clever selection of the information about her marriage and her life with Angus Montour. Whatever her motivation, she ensured that her husband's media persona was reconciled with that of the "good Indian", although this may have been at the expense of his real-life merits.

In choosing what, and what not, to reveal about her husband in the media, Johanna pursued a selection strategy that concurred with notions of the acceptable characteristics of exotic people. Richard Altick observed that the appreciation of "exotic" people correlated strongly with their presumed civilized qualities.⁸² European standards of civilization equated to social status; civilization was guaranteed by pedigree. This deep-rooted interest in class helps to explain the incessant interest in kings and princes in reports on foreign peoples in general and in Angus Montour's position as an Indian chief, and in Johanna's alleged noble birth in particular.⁸³ The myth of her noble birth reinforced the idea of her mixed marriage as a romantic adventure, one featuring a Dutch lady marrying an Indian chief, together overcoming everything that society threw their way. From the Dutch and Canadian perspectives, this "interracial" couple became comparatively acceptable because of the exotic and noble qualities attributed to Angus and Johanna.

Myth as Means

Despite Johanna's reticence about her husband's political activities, American Horse created a distinct profile for himself in a 1923 *Star* announcement of a Six-Nations conference.⁸⁴ Although the item consisted of no more than a group photo with a caption, Angus Montour, who can be seen at the forefront offering a peace pipe, appears to be the central figure. In other photos accompanying news items about Angus Montour's political activism, he is depicted in both European and Indian costumes. The usual Indian costume is reminiscent of the Mid-West. In two of these, he is seen wearing what appears to be a shirt with Mohawk trimmings, an explicit reference to his personal cultural heritage.⁸⁵ Illustrating news reports on Indian activism with photos of men dressed in authentic costumes instead of the stereotypical costumes the white audience expected, can be viewed as the conscious visual expression of Iroquois self-awareness.

A 1927 *Star* article presented Angus Montour even more prominently as a political activist: as one of the leaders of the Kahnawake Mohawk

who called for a return to their ancestral religion.⁸⁶ The newspaper article stated that during a powwow, the “reformation leaders chief Two Axe and American Horse”, and others, had declared the rejection of the Christian religion by the Iroquois. The two chiefs named in the article were to hold daily meetings to educate their people on Iroquois spiritual traditions. The journalist reporting on this declaration was sympathetic to the Indian cause. He acknowledged that the arrival of “white” settlers in America had been fateful for the “Indians” and that their “old religion” was all that they had left. The remarkable thing about the story is that after providing details about the declaration’s objectives, the reporter chose to interview Johanna rather than an Indian activist regarding the interpretation of the declaration:

Mrs. American Horse, asked if the meeting could be called a “religious uprising,” stated emphatically that it could not. She stressed the importance of recalling that the present Indians had their forefathers’ blood in their veins, and were bound to turn back to their forefathers’ god, the Great Spirit, for sympathy in their present state, tied down as they were by white man’s laws.⁸⁷

Although the reporter did not explicitly refer to Johanna as a white woman she provided a white perspective on the matter, reassuring readers that they were not dealing with a religious uprising. As an “Indian woman” with roots in the white world, Johanna was a spokeswoman for the Indian cause; she served as an intercultural go-between.

In view of Angus and Johanna’s previous media experiences, it would seem highly probable that her comments had been thoroughly prepared. In previous reports, they had demonstrated an awareness of the ideological effects of news reports on “Indians.”⁸⁸ It is quite conceivable that, in preparing the declaration for the powwow, they informed reporters and provided them with a press release, as Angus had done before in 1922. In addition to explaining the declaration, Johanna’s responses to the reporter’s questions served to reassure readers that this call for a return to Indian spirituality would not provoke a violent encounter like the massacre at Wounded Knee which had taken place thirty years before in response to a religious revival among Sioux people.

The prominence of Angus Montour’s activist role in the 1927 article was also referred to in some of the news items published at the time of his death in 1928. In these articles, he was remembered as the Mohawk chief who tried to improve his people’s condition. The *Montreal Daily Star* respectfully described him as an Indian leader who lived by his principles and who was a confirmed nationalist and activist. Even his time in prison, a consequence of this activism, and his abandoning the Christian faith in

order to reclaim his original religion and identity; did not diminish the respect shown him at the time of his death.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, Canadian and Dutch articles published following Angus Montour's death show that stereotyping was a constant in media representations of Indian people. Even when the reporting was respectful, as was the case in the *Montreal Daily Star* article, the tendency to caricature was quite evident. Angus Montour's chiefly qualities were drawn from his appearance and his status as an authentic Indian:

His imposing figure, with his impressively tall and stalwart build and his fascinatingly noble countenance ... one of the last remaining full-blooded Indians.⁹⁰

Angus himself exploited the pictorial qualities of his physical appearance and his likeness of the long-standing representation of "Indians" in his activities as an occasional artist, when he performed initiation rituals for tourists and dignitaries, and when he posed for artists and advertising agencies.⁹¹ He modeled for the Buffalo Advertising Club in Buffalo, New York, and for students from the Montreal's École des Beaux Arts.

'Photographer unknown: Angus Montour in an announcement of the "Indian show" in 1905' World Chronicle 12 (1905)33, 522.



*Valentin Shebayev, Johanna
van Dommelen as a fortune-teller
in the 1930's. Private collection
Frank van Dommelen*



One of the artists for whom he modeled, Dinah Lauterman, executed a handsome plaster bust of Angus, for which she received a prestigious prize. The impressive sculpture has now been cast in bronze and is deposited at Montreal's École des Beaux Arts.⁹² The greater than life-size bust portrays him as the dignified Indian, about whom a reporter from the *Montreal Star* wrote that he possessed the "aristocratic mien of his forefathers."⁹³ It is a fascinating paradox that Angus Montour, in his activities in show business, advertising, and art, reinforced patronizing, stereotyped media representations of Indian people, while at the same time championing the social emancipation of his people.

After her husband's death in 1928, Johanna stayed on in Kahnawake, dividing her time between family and friends in the reserve and in Montreal. As the widow of a prominent and beloved chief, she was respected among the Mohawk. Though she was offered the Dutch nationality by the Dutch consul after Angus's death, she chose to remain in Canada.⁹⁴

During the Great Depression, when François and his wife were barely managing to sustain their family of four, Johanna's connections at the Dutch consulate provided them with help and employment.⁹⁵ In these years, Johanna proved to be buoyant and resourceful. The decline of job opportunities in the construction industry led the Mohawk to turn to show business.⁹⁶ This new occupation may have inspired the eighty-year-old to play the role of a fortune-teller, performing in *The Samovar*, a local café, and in the reserve.⁹⁷ Having once aspired to a career on the stage, she was now earning additional income for the families of her son and stepchildren.

After François' death in 1952, Johanna alternately stayed with the families of her grandchildren in Montreal and Baltimore.⁹⁸ Her grandchildren remember her in this period of her life as being distant with strangers and very protective of her own kin. Johanna lived with her grandchildren and great-grandchildren until she needed professional care. She was admitted to a nursing home in Montreal where she died in 1957 at the age of 93.⁹⁹

The love story of Angus and Johanna continues to be told in Kahnawake to this very day. In this story, Johanna is cast as a mysterious woman, the myth of her ancestry having been inflated to the point where she is rumoured to be a niece of Queen Wilhelmina.¹⁰⁰ In this version of the romance, the couple stood up to fierce protests from "Anna's royal family who were convinced that a connection with the red race would tarnish their noble lineage." The story told in Kahnawake focuses on class differences. It is a story in which the Dutch prejudice against the Indian culture was overcome by love and respect. Her love for Angus made her renounce her former, luxurious "station in life", and her attachment to the "humble and peaceful environment" of the reserve induced her to stay in Kahnawake.

Conclusion

This article focused on the following questions: How did the Dutch and Canadian news media represent ethnic difference in reports on the marriage of Angus Montour and Johanna van Dommelen? How can the differences in news coverage in both countries be explained? Did the spouses manage to exploit reports on their marriage to their advantage?

When their marriage was announced in the media, the representations of Johanna and Angus were in keeping with common representations of white women and Indian men. Johanna was portrayed as the classic impetuous white lady who had been carried away by her feelings, and Angus was typecast as the "redskin" who had taken advantage of her emotional state.

In the Dutch media, the image of Johanna evolved from that of an irrational woman heading for a wretched life to that of a happily married woman who criticized the role of the media and advocated the amelioration of the condition of Indian people. The media image of Angus Montour evolved from that of a typical war-minded "Indian" who seized an opportunity to marry a white woman into the equally stereotypical image of the faithful, noble Indian, notwithstanding his activism on behalf of the Mohawk cause and his renunciation of the Christian faith.

In Canadian newspapers and magazines, Johanna was represented as a mysterious lady from the old world and as an Indian's trophy bride. Later, she was represented as a successful immigrant who acted as the spokeswoman for the Mohawk people. In Canada, as in the Netherlands, Angus Montour was the object of the traditional stereotypes. The ongoing emphasis on his "full-blooded Indian" ancestry and his physical appearance may explain why he, in contrast to Johanna, was often the subject of visual materials yet underrepresented in the articles.

Characteristic of the appreciation of gender and ethnic difference in both the Dutch and the Canadian media, reports on Angus failed to break free from stock representations of the wild or civilized Indian, while Johanna was presented as a cultural go-between, an image that went beyond the stereotype of the inarticulate, weak white woman. Both spouses, however, were allowed to portray themselves as political activists, in a way that was unusual for both women and Indian persons of the day.

Canadian news coverage of Angus and Johanna's love and life differed from that of the Dutch newspapers. The Canadian sources showed the husband as the successful conqueror of a pretty, well-to-do bride. This difference might be explained, at least in part, by Canadian society's greater familiarity with ethnically mixed marriages. Although marriages between indigenous men and white women were viewed as a problem in both Canada and the Netherlands, in both countries Angus and Johanna's relationship was attributed exotic and noble qualities which contributed to the acceptance of the "interracial" marriage.

The spouses' influence on reports on their marriage and life together – a central question in this research – proved to be surprisingly easy to confirm. This finding contradicts commonly held beliefs that ethnic minorities are passive or unwilling objects of media reports.¹⁰¹ Evident differences between media announcements of Johanna van Dommelen's marriage and life and information obtained from registers and family interviews revealed that her statements to the press had been meticulously prepared, in order to best serve her interests. Angus Montour's active involvement in news reports becomes explicit when he is mentioned as the author of a press release. My analyses of depictions and texts shows that not only did the spouses tailor information on their life stories, which was imperative in Johanna's case owing to her former status as an unmarried mother, but they also introduced new and unusual subjects, something that must have come as a surprise to the reporters.

In virtually all depictions and texts about Johanna and Angus, whether the reporting was denunciatory or appreciatory, rigid and disparaging qualifiers can be found. These stereotypes appear to have been so inter-

twined with regular media reports on Indian people that there was no escaping them for Johanna and Angus. When Johanna wanted to demonstrate Angus's civilized qualities, she did so by presenting him as the living proof of the inaccuracy of prejudices about native people. When Angus performed for visitors to the show or modeled for an advertising agency, he reinforced the caricature audiences were expecting. However contradictory the use of derogatory representations by an Indian activist may seem, they became the opportunity to promote the Indian cause.

In newspaper interviews with Dutch and Canadian reporters, Johanna and Angus not only shared information about their married life with the public, but by introducing new topics, they changed the focus of these articles. News items which at first glance may have been entertaining gossip about an unusual romance became outlets to criticize prejudiced news coverage on Indian people, to indict government policies, and to promote Indian activism. By meeting audience expectations about racial representations, the couple gained access to a public platform.

The spouses shrewdly exploited the ceaseless media fascination with their relationship, a fascination rooted in stereotypical representations, in order to improve the actual living conditions of a marginalized community. It is an interesting paradox that Indian stereotypes in art and news media held out an opportunity for Angus and Johanna to publicly air their views. The inter-ethnic character of their marriage, initially viewed as an infringement on common decency and a barrier to their happiness, eventually proved to be a valuable political instrument.

Notes

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*The Lady and the Indian: Representing an Inter-ethnic
Marriage in Dutch and Canadian News Media (1906–1928)*

2. *Wereldkroniek* 12 (1906) 48, 756. The magazine appeared on February 24.
3. I am aware of the different names used for the native peoples of the American continent: "American Indians" or First Nations is used by American publicists; "Aboriginals" is used by Canadian authors; "Hodenausaunee" and "Kanienkehaka" are used by Kahnawake researchers for the Iroquois and Mohawks. In this text, I decided to use the terms "Indians," "Iroquois," and "Mohawk," attempting to stay as close as possible to the names that were used in the historical sources.
4. H. Ghorashi, *Ways to survive, battles to win. Iranian women exiles in the Netherlands and the United States* (New York 2003); Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation. Cultural representations and signifying practices* (London 1996); and Maaïke Meier, *In tekst gevat. Inleiding tot een kritiek van representatie* (Amsterdam 1996).
5. A. McClintock, *Imperial leather. Race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest* (New York and London 1995).
6. Ghorashi, *Ways to survive*; R. Frankenberg, *White women, race matters. The social construction of race* (Minnesota 1993).
7. Hall, *Representation*; Meijer, *In tekst gevat*; Marga Altena, *Visuele strategieën. Foto's en films van fabrieksarbeidsters in Nederland (1890-1919)* (Amsterdam 2003).
8. J. de Zoete, *De techniek van de Nederlandse boekillustratie in de 19e eeuw* (Amstelveen 1995). Marga Altena, *Visuele strategieën*.
9. Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque 1985) 15-17, 249. A present-day and widely read abduction story that abounds in stereotypical characterization is Betty Mahmood's *Not without my daughter* (New York 1987). See also: June Namias, *White captives: Gender and ethnicity and the American frontier* (Chapel Hill and London 1993).
10. Sarah Carter, *Capturing women. The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal & Kingston/London/Buffalo 1997), XIV; Marina Warner, *Monuments & maidens. The allegory of the female form* (London 1987).
11. Ann Laura Stoler, "De fatsoenering van het imperiale rijk. Ras en seksuele moraal in de twintigste-eeuwse koloniale culturen" in: *De Gids* 154 (5-6-1991) 5, 419, 421, 425, 427.
12. Gouda, *Dutch culture*; Stoler, *Race*.
13. On the changing meaning of mixed marriages: Marlou Schrover, "Maria en Rocco. Gemengde huwelijken en integratie in de negentiende eeuw," in: *Gaan en Staàn. Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 21, 81-100.
14. See: Elsbeth Locher-Scholten, "Familie en Liefde. Europese mannen en Indonesische vrouwen," in: Esther Captain, Marieke Hellevoort, and Marian van der Klei (eds.), *Vertrouwd en vreemd. Ontmoetingen tussen Nederland, Indië en Indonesië* (Hilversum 2000) 45-50.
15. On prejudice and double standards with regard to Dutch women in mixed marriages: Betty de Hart, "De goede lobbess en de onbezonnen vrouw. Gemengde relaties en schijnhuwelijken," in: *Migrantenstudies* no. 4, 246-259, and Geertje

- Mak, "Seksueel Vreemdelingenverkeer," in: *Gaan en staan. Jaarboek voor vrouwengeschiedenis* 21 (2001) 101-122.
16. Betty de Hart, "'De verwerpelijke van alle gemengde huwelijken.' De Gemengde Huwelijken regeling 1898 en de Rijkswet op het Nederlandschap 1892 vergeleken," in: *Gaan en Staen. Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis* 21, 60, 69.
 17. Right up to the present day, mixed marriages are not uncontroversial. See Dienne Hondius, *Gemengde huwelijken, gemengde gevoelens. Hoe Nederland omgaat met etnisch en religieus verschil* (Den Haag 2001) en Betty de Hart, *Onbezonnen vrouwen. Gemengde relaties in het nationaliteitsrecht en het vreemdelingenrecht* (Amsterdam 2003).
 18. Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque 1985) 175. For white men, marrying an indigenous woman meant legalizing the loss of status for their offspring, regulated by the Indian Act. White women were less free in their sexuality than white men were, so for women wishing to share their life with a native man marriage was a necessity.
 19. *Ibid.*, 182-183.
 20. Carter, *Capturing women*, 205.
 21. Riley, *Women and Indians*, 250.
 22. *Ibid.*, 21-22.
 23. *Ibid.*, 35.
 24. *Ibid.*, 30-32.
 25. Roger L. Nichols, *Indians in the United States and Canada* (Lincoln & London 1998) 206, 207, 225, 230.
 26. Interview FvD, Baltimore, October 2002, tape 1B.
 27. *Ibid.*, tape 1B.
 28. Sara died on December 26, 1902: Letter from Joseph Deer to Kenneth van Dommelen (2-25-1997).
 29. Johnny Beauvais, Kahnawake, undated, unpaginated.
 30. The medal has the inscription "Burton's Indian Village 1905" and the silver hallmark of the city of Birmingham. I would like to thank Jean-Pierre van Rijen, Radboud University Nijmegen, who interpreted the symbols.
 31. District of Fulham, County of London, PAS 918369: marriage certificate of Angus Montour and Johanna Elisabeth van Dommelen (2-13-1906).
 32. Interviews AvD, FvD, IvD, LvD, and SvD, Baltimore and Chateaugay, May 2004. The private collection of Henk Flothuis. Undated press clipping "Carolus Christiaan van Dommelen." The family's noble lineage is not confirmed by an entry in the Alphabetical List of Nobility: www.hogeraadvandel.nl/adelslijst.htm (11-22-2005).
 33. In a newspaper interview in 1925, Johanna mentioned her "fervent desire to go on the stage" (NRC 9-10-1925).
 34. The family consisted of: Jacobus Willem Christiaan (1862), Johanna Elisabeth (1864), Helena Anthonia (1865), Frederik Willem Hugo (1869?), Jacoba Henrietta Louisa (1869?), Carolina Christina Charlotte (1874, Keizersgracht 826 II, 3-4-1957), Jan, and Johan Sebastianus Engelbertus (?). After the death of

- Jacoba Cornelia Lus, Carolus Christiaan married Anna van Duijl around about 1875. Jan and Louis were born of this second marriage.
35. Typical of the family's social ambitions was the wish of Johanna's sister Caroline to go to medical school. Private collection Henk Flothuis. Collection of press clippings.
 36. Letter from Frank van Dommelen to Betty de Hart (6-17-2002). A letter from Johanna to Mr. Luden, Dutch consul in Montreal, confirms the impression that Johanna received a good education. National Archive, The Hague, Inventory Consulate General Montreal, access code 2.05.48.10. Letter from Mrs. A. Montour to Mr. Luden (1-9-1939).
 37. In 1905, however, Johanna was registered as the manageress of a lodging house while she was living with François at the Weespergracht 24C in Amsterdam (3-22-1905).
 38. The Amsterdam Municipal Archive (henceforth: GAA); Register of Births (henceforth: GR) (6-13-1890).
 39. GA, Keizersgracht 127, Municipal Maternity Institute.
 40. GA, GR (6-13-1890).
 41. During her stay at the Keizersgracht 217, Johanna was registered as a "domestic." Considering the number of "domestics" at this address, this should be taken to refer to unmarried mothers who stayed at the home on a temporary basis. It is striking that Johanna lived here for sixteen months, an unusually long period. It is also surprising that she was the only female to be registered with her child.
 42. In an interview from 1923, Johanna said that she and her son had never been apart (*Star* 4-14-1923).
 43. Private collection Henk Flothuis. Press clippings document the public life of Caroline van Dommelen as a novelist, actress, director, woman farmer, feminist, politician, horsewoman, and the first female moviemaker in the Netherlands (*The Exiles*). For her artistic and journalistic work, she traveled to Australia, Canada (French lectures in Montreal), the Dutch East Indies, and Japan. She also went on hikes through Europe and North Africa.
 44. Caroline's signature ("Caro Heye" instead of "Caro Heye van Dommelen") may have been an attempt to cover up her identity, which would indicate ambivalence on her part in being a witness at her sister's wedding. Suggestion made by Frank van Dommelen, Baltimore, May 2004.
 45. Caroline traveled to Canada to visit Johanna and her family in 1909 (Ellis Island Records), 1938, and 1948. Interview FvD, Baltimore, October 2002, tape 3A.
 46. *Haagsche Courant* (11-24-1905); *Land en Volk* (11-23-1905); *Nieuws van de Dag* (11-5-1905); *De Residentiebode* (11-26-1905); *De Telegraaf* (11-2-1905); *Het Vaderland* (11-25-1905); *De Prins* 5 (1905) 20, 237; *Wereldkroniek* 12 (1905) 33, 522-523.
 47. *Wereldkroniek* 12 (1905) 33, 522.
 48. *Ibid.*, 522-523.
 49. Interview FvD, Baltimore, October 2002, tape 2A. Though Michael and Louis were also taking part in the show, their show names are unknown: *Ibid.*, tape 6B; *Ibid.*, tape 9A. American Horse (1840-1908) a chief of the Oglala Sioux people

- became famous during the American Bozeman Trail War (1866) and the Sioux Wars (1870s). In 1891 in Washington, American Horse negotiated a better treatment for his people. His contribution to Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show made him into a celebrated protagonist of this show, a circumstance that was exploited by Burton's "Indian Village" of 1905.
50. *Perry Daily Chief* (6-8-1906); Library of Congress, American Memory Photo Collection American Horse.
 51. *Wereldkroniek* 12 (1906) 48, 756.
 52. De Hart, "De verwerpelijste van alle gemengde huwelijken," 69.
 53. Nichols, *Indians*, 212.
 54. *Perry Daily Chief* (6-8-1906).
 55. Ibid.
 56. On Indians as national symbols in Canada and the US, see Ph. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven and London 1998).
 57. *NRC* (9-10-1915).
 58. Ibid.
 59. Ibid.
 60. *Star* (25-2-1922).
 61. Ibid.
 62. Ibid.
 63. Nichols, *Indians*, 225, 228, 233, 246.
 64. *Star* (4-14-1923).
 65. Ibid.
 66. Ibid.
 67. Ibid.
 68. *Star* (4-14-1923).
 69. Ibid.
 70. Ibid.
 71. Interview FvD, Baltimore, October 2002, tape 8B.
 72. *Star* (4-14-1923).
 73. *NRC* (9-6-1925); *NRC* (9-10-1925).
 74. *Het Centrum* (2-27-1925).
 75. *NRC* (11-10-1925); Interview FvD, Baltimore, October 2002, tape 1B.
 76. Suggestion by Frank van Dommelen.
 77. *NRC* (9-10-1925).
 78. *NRC* (9-6-1925); *NRC* (9-10-1925).
 79. *NRC* (11-10-1925).
 80. *NRC* (9-10-1925).
 81. At home, Angus Montour spoke Mohawk with his children. Johanna also learned to express herself well in Mohawk: Communication by Frank van Dommelen.
 82. Richard Altick, *The shows of London. A panoramic history of exhibitions 1600-1862* (Cambridge, Mass. and London 1978) 46.
 83. Johnny Beauvais, *Kahnawake*.
 84. *Star* (5-3-1923).
 85. *Star* (6-27-1927).

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86. *Star* (11-1-1927). Angus Montour had understood the role of the church in destroying Indian culture and renounced Christianity.
87. *Ibid.*
88. As proves the *Star* interview (4-14-1923) and the *NRC* interviews (11-10-1925) and (9-10-1925).
89. *Montreal D. Star* (4-2-1928).
90. *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (4-19-1928).
91. Interview FvD, Baltimore, October 2002, tape 2A.
92. I owe this information to Ida van Dommelen-Morris. *Montreal D. Star* (4-2-1928); Dinah Lauterman, Buste de Cheval d'Amérique, grand chef indien de Caughnawaga, bronze, height: 58.4 cm (23"), 1930. Musée des Beaux Arts in Montreal, ID number 1946.974.
93. In 1931, the bust was awarded a first, second, and third prize for sculpture in the Lord Willingdon Competition for Sculpture, open to all British subjects in Canada, both amateur and professional: *Star* (7-4-1931).
94. National Archive The Hague, Inventory of the Consulate General Montreal, entry code 2.05.48.10. Personal dossier Johanna van Dommelen, letters from the Consul General to Mrs. Anna Montour-Van Dommelen (4-11-1928) and (5-23-1928). Though Johanna visited the consul in response to his offer and "all" had been "arranged with the immigration authorities," Johanna remained in Caughnawaga.
95. National Archive The Hague, Inventory of the Consulate General Montreal, entry code 2.05.48.10. Personal dossier 174 F. van Dommelen. Letter by Mrs. A. Montour-Van Dommelen to Mr. Schuurman (3-4-1933).
96. David Blanchard, For your entertainment pleasure, Princess White Deer, and Chief Running Deer, Last "hereditary" Chief of the Mohawk: northern Mohawk Rodeos & Showmanship, University of Chicago, undated manuscript [1983], 24.
97. Interview LvD, Baltimore, May 2004.
98. Interview FvD, Baltimore, October 2002, tape 1B.
99. *Ibid.*, tape 1B
100. Johnny Beauvais, Kahnawake; Interview IvD, Chateaugay, May 2004.
101. McClintock, *Imperial leather*; Hondius, *Gemengde Huwelijken*.